N.A.A.C.P. -1934

New York Times

MAR 19 1934

MAYOR OFFERS AID ON NEGROES' NEEDS

Asks Association to Name Committee to Take Up Its Problems With Him.

LEHMAN TELLS HIS AIMS

He Outlines Efforts for Jol Insurance and Other Social Legislation at Albany.

Governor Lehman and Mayor La Guardia were guests of honor las night at the twenty-fifth annua dinner of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held at International House 500 Riverside Drive. More thar 500 persons attended the dinner.

The Governor outlined the unem ployment relief work being done i the State. He said that he had been assured last week at his con ference with President Roosevel in Washington that Federal relie would be provided for 240,000 o the 275,000 persons to be droppe from CWA payrolls April 1.

Discussing legislative plans a Albany, the Governor said he wa working for unemployment insur ance, the abolition of Child Labo Law violations in the State, the abolition of excessive hours of em ployment and the prohibition o "yellow dog" contracts. He declared that labor was not a commodity and should not be regarded as something to be bartered back and forth in legislation.

Taking up the State budget, the Governor showed that 46 per cen of the total was devoted to edu cation.

Mayor LaGuardia asserted tha one of the great troubles with civi organizations in New York is tha they were mixing national and mu nicipal problems. He told the mem bers of the association that if they would appoint a small committee t take up municipal problems in which the association is interested and to confer with him, he would be glad to cooperate to the fullest extent.

The Mayor also discussed relie questions and looked significantly at Governor Lehman when he de clared that both he and the Gov ernor would have reason to be con cerned about relief, at least unti Federal relief had been extended

Representative Oscar De Priest Negro, of Illinais, was another speaker. Mayor LaGuardia told Mr. De Priest that he wished he were in Washington so that he might help him in the fight to force an investigation of the refusal to serve Negroes in the House dining room.

Reprinted from late editions of last week

DUBOIS SPLITS WITH THE OTHER NAACP LEADERS

Afro-American 4-7-34

Group's Battle against Segregation "Less Than Nothing."

Baltimore

VOLUNTARY J.C. AREA NEEDED

DuBois Urges a New Type of Segregation.

NEW YORK—The NAACP's 25-year fight against segregation in the United States has yielded "less than nothing," according to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, writing in the current issue of the Crisis magazine.

His article is believed to be the barrage which announces a final break between himself and other NAACP leaders.

A short while ago, Dr. DuBois, in a published letter, declared the NAACP board is undemocratic and should be reorganized.

In the April Crisis article, Dr. DuBois attacks Walter White, secretary of the association, and Joel Spingarn, its president.

His article, which is a reply to NAACP leaders who announced their determination to keep up the fight against any type of jim crow (in part) is as follows:

"In the first place, Walter White is white. He has more white companions and friends than colored. He goes where he will in New York City and naturally meets no color line, for the simple and sufficient reason that he isn't colored . . .

"But it is fantastic to assume that this has anything to do with the color problem in the United Sates. It naturally makes Mr. White an extreme opponent of any segregation based on a myth of race. But this argument does not apply to Schuyler or Miller or me

Gets By—When Alone

"Moreover, Mr. White knows this. He once moved into a white apartment house and it went black on him. He now lives in a colored apartment house with attendant limitations.

"He once took a friend to dine with him at the celebrated cafe of the Lafayette Hotel, where he had often been welcomed. The management humiliated him by refusing to serve his friend, Roland Hayes.

Schuyler and Miller Out of Date

"The attitudes of Schuyler and Kelly Miller are historically based on the amiable assumption that there is little or no segregation in the North, and that agitation and a firm stand is making this disappear; that obvious desert and accomplishment by Negroes can break down prejudice. This is a fable.

"I once believed it passionately. It may become true in 250 or in 1,000 years. Now it is not true. No black man, whatever his culture or ability, is today in America regarded as a man by any considerable number of white Americans."

Situation Grows Worse

Turning his attack more directly on the NAACP, Dr. DuBois continues:

"No matter how much we may fulminate about "no segregation," there stand the flat facts. Moreover, this situation has in the last quarter century been steadily growing worse. Mr. Spingarn may ask judicially as to whether or not the NAACP should change its attitude towards segregation.

"The point that he does not realize is that segregation has changed its attitude toward the NAACP. The higher the Negro climbs or tries to climb, the more pitiless and unyielding the color ban.

"Segregation may be just as evil today as it was in 1910, but it is more insistent, more prevalent and more unassailable by appeal or by argument . . ."

Moton Kept Out of Dining Rooms

"In 1910, colored men could be entertained in the best hotels in Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago. Today, there is not a single northern city, except New York, where a colored man can be a guest at a first class hotel. Not even in Boston is he welcome; and in New York, the number of hotels where he can go is very small.

"Roland Hayes was unable to get regular hotel accommodations and Dr. Moton only succeeds by powerful white influence and by refraining from use of the public dining inrooms or the public lobbies.

N.A.A.C.P. Efforts Fail

"If, as Spingarn asserts, the dining rooms or the public lobbies century campaign against segregation, then the net result has been a little less than nothing.

"We have, by legal action, steadied the foundation so that in the future, segregation must be by wish and will and not law, but beyond that we have not made the slightest impression on the determination of the overwhelming mass of white Americans not to treat us as men."

Calls for Voluntary Segregation

After citing the impracticability of expecting the colored people to base their salvation upon the empty reiteration of a slogan, the editor goes on to say:

"What, then, can we do? The only thing that we not only can, but must do, is voluntarily and insitently to organize our economic and social power, no matter how much segregation it involves.

"Learn to associate with ourselves and to train ourselves for effective association. Organize our strength as consumers, learn to co-operate and use machines and power as producers; train ourselves in methods of democratic control within our own group. Run and support our own institutions."

Giving as the fundamental object of segregation, the isolation of colored people to the extent that they will be "spiritually bankrupt physically degenerate, and economically dependent," Dr. DuBois warns that it is the race's duty to see that this object is not accomplished, but continues:

"If he cannot live in sanitary and decent sections of a city, he must build his own residential quarters, and raise and keep them on a plane fit for living. If he cannot educate his children in decent schools with other children, he must, nevertheless, educate his children in decent colored schools and arrange and conduct and oversee such schools.

"If he cannot enter American industry at a living wage, or find work suited to his education and talent, or receive promotion and advancement according to his deserts, he must organize his own economic life so that just as far as possible these discriminations will not reduce him to abject exploitation."

Directors Plan Action

It is understood that the attitude expressed in the aritcle will be taken up officially by the NAACP board of directors at its April meeting. While still editor of the Crisis in name, Dr. DuBois has had considerably less authority in that connection recently, doing little except write his editorial column.

Du Bois Resigns In Bitter Fight in NAACP Leadership

Daily Worker 6-9-34

Struggle Over Tacit Or Open Acceptance Of Segregation

NEW YORK.—The bitter fight within the top leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reached a breaking point yesterday with the announcement that Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of "The Crisis," official organ of the association, had handed in his resignation.

New York Herald Tribune

In a letter to the board of directors, Du Bois resigns his editorship of "The Crisis," his membership in the "Crisis" board, the board of directors and the Spingarn Medal Committee and his position as director of publications and research for the N. A. A. C. P.—all to take effect on Monday when the board of directors holds its monthly meeting.

It is regarded as certain that the board will accept his resignation. The controversy, which has been raging since last January, centered around Du Bois' open advocacy of "voluntary" segregation for the Negro people and the position of the opposing faction of continuing the association's sham fight against segregation while tacitly agreeing to the policies of the white imperialists.

DuBois Quits National Association

THE SEVERANCE of the relations of Dr. WILLIAM E. b. DUBOIS with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which everyone has been expecting lately, came on June 11th in the form of DR. DUBOIS'S resignation as director of publications and research, editor *The Crisis*, and all other connections with the association. His resignation is the culmination of a feud with WALTER WHITE secretary, and the board of directors, as well as many substantial friends and supporters of the N. A. A. C. P., who were aghast when Dr. DUBOIS recently gave expression to views on racial segregation with which Mr. WHITE and other N. A. A. C. P. officials were not in agreement.

Dr. DUBOIS said in substance that it is better for the race to accept segregation under certain unavoidable circumstances, than to lose further ground in the matter of subsistence. He defended his position logically. When he was called upon the carpet for taking the position, and defending it, and for criticising Secretary WHITE while defending it, he resigned rather than yield.

The whole controversy between Dr. DUBOIS and his colleagues has been aired thoroughly in the press of the country and in *The Crisis*, the official organ of the association, so much so that most people who follow the race papers are quite familiar with both sides of it. Apparently the National Association emerges victor. At least the association preserves the inflexibility of its policy of opposing racial separation by legal or other means. In adopting this policy in its inception the N. A. A. C. P. apparently had in mind the securing of equal rights under the law—difficult to secure where racial distinctions are allowed to void such rights—and equal economic opportunity for the Negro, also impossible of attainment while he does not enjoy equal legal status with other citizens.

In modifying his consistent agreement with the original policy of the N. A. A. C. P. Dr. DUBOIS apparently bowed to the inviolable law of economic necessity; not selfishly, but in recognition of stern realities. He has insisted that he is as much opposed as ever to racial distinctions in law or in customs, where such distinctions operate to discriminate against his race; but he prefers to accept separation—as in government subsistence homesteads, for example—as an economic gain, and continue to fight segregation in principle by legal and moral methods, rather than to refuse such an economic gain if it has to come through separate subsistence homesteads.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People occupies a professional relationship to the Negro race comparable to the professional relationship that the American Federation of Labor sustains to its clientele. The latter could not afford to relax in its efforts to get the maximum of benefits for organized labor. The association would be out of an occupation when it ceased to oppose segregation without reservations—segregation in all that the term means to the Negro—loss of legal rights, denial of opportunity to work, to receive the benefits of education, social service, security in property rights, safety of life and limb.

Dr. DUBOIS may be ever so logical; he may be absolutely right in the position he has taken, but having been associated with the N. A. A. C. P. during all of its life and having promulgated its principles he can never make his logic clear to those who have not been accustomed to seeing him cast in a different role. His error was in not severing his connection with the association before announcing his conversion to the policy of flexibility, which is sound enough to people who have no professional interests to serve.

N. Y. HERALD

JUN 8 1934

Du Bois to Quit In Segregation Of Negroes Rift

Editor of 'The Crisis' to Resign and Sever Connections With N. A. A. C. P.

Board to Act Monday

Magazine Founder to Step Down After 24 Years

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, founder and editor of "The Crisis," important Negro monthly magazine and the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, will almost certainly cease his twenty-four years connection with the N. A. A. C. P. on Monday, it was learned authoritatively yesterday.

The board of directors of the N. A. A. C. P. has its monthly meeting next Monday, and at the meeting it will have to act on a letter from Dr. Du Bois resigning his editorship of "The Crisis," his membership in the "Crisis" board, the association's board and the Spingarn Medal Committee and his position as director of publications and research for the association, all to take effect the day of the meeting. It is regarded as most improbable that the resignation will be refused.

Favors Segregation

The struggle between Dr. Du Bois, who is regarded as one of the greatest scholars among American Negroes, and other elements in the leading militant Negro group has been causing much excitement in well informed Negro circles for some time. It began in January, when Dr. Du Bois, in his editorial column "Postscript" in "The Crisis," took a stand favoring voluntary Negro segregation. This stand was opposed by many board members, notably Walter White, successor to James Weldon Johnson as secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., and a battle on it was carried on in "The Crisis" in every issue since that of January.

At its April meeting the N. A. A. C. P. board, spurred on by the controversy aroused by Dr. Du Bois, passed an anti-segregation resolution so strong that unless it is qualified it would seem to place the association on record as opposing such institutions as the Negro colleges and schools of the South. Dr. Du Bois published this resolution, with copies of one submitted by him and of a middle-of-the-road resolution. It is known that at its last meeting the board adopted two further resolutions, one directing that no salaried officer of the association should criticize association policy in "The Crisis," and the other directing that no board member should make public the decisions of the board before their official publication.

Retraction Demanded

It is these two resolutions, and primarily the first, imposing a censorship on Dr. Du Bois, which have driven him to sever all connection with the organization in which he has so long been a leading spirit. It was said yesterday that only a retraction of its censorship resolution by the board would induce Dr. Du Bois to withdraw his resignation.

Dr. Du Bois's shaking of the dust of the N. A. A. C. P. off his feet after twenty-four years is not the only element in the situation which is causing excitement. In the old days, when Dr. Du Bois came to the N. A. A. C. P. and before, Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee and the most famous Negro leader of his day, was head of the Segregationist movement, which is like a sort of Negro Zionism without the Zion. That is, it advocates an autonomous, or as nearly as possible autonomous, Negro community within the larger white community of the United States.

Dr. Du Bois was then regarded as the most important and bitterest opponent of Washington. Since the death of Washington the Segregationist quarrel has been considered more or less dead, and certainly no whisper of its revival was ever expected from within the bosom of the N. A. A. C. P. Then Dr. Du Bois's January editorial appeared.

In it he declared that "the thinking colored people of the United States must stop being stampeded by the word segregation," and he suggested, rather mildly, that a voluntary segregation, as opposed to any segregation flavored with white anti-Negro discrimination, would be a good thing. In the next issue a second editorial sought to show that the N. A. A. C. P. had never put itself on record as against voluntary segregation, and in the March "Crisis" there was a forum on the subject.

In the forum Dr. Joel E. Spingarn, president of the N. A. A. C. P., took a more or less middle stand, with an anti-segregation slant. Mr. White, as secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., sought to show definitely that Dr. Du Bois's contentions on the association's record were wrong, and was strongly against, as were Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of the Cheyney Training School for Teachers, and David H. Pierce. In the April issue of "The Crisis" Dr. Du Bois reasserted his position, putting it far more strongly, and arguing against Mr. White that Mr. White's appearance is such that he is able to "pass," and can therefore have no real appreciation of the Negro's problem. The "Postcripts" of the May and June issues were also devoted to the matter, and in each case Dr. Du Bois put his argument more strongly.

Finds Discrimination Gains

His position is that in his youth he hoped that with the advent of Negroes no longer underprivileged white discrimination would cease, that it had not ceased but grown stronger, and that the only thing to do now is to stop crying out against discrimination and face facts. His way of facing facts is to advise the Negroes to be as nearly independent as possible, with their own shops, schools, banks, insurance companies, hospitals and everything else wherever feasible. After his resignation it is expected that he will continue to expound these principles at Atlanta University, where he has been teaching this winter. Dr. Du Bois was in Atlanta yesterday and not available for comment.

This is not the first time that "The Crisis" has been gathered into the control of the N. A. A. C. P. board. Dr. Du Bois was not always in agreement with James Weldon Johnson during his regime.

NEW YORK SUN

JUN 9 1934

He gets the most fun out of golf when he plays he's on the deck of a battleship, sinking an enemy fleet with his long shots. It wouldn't be a bad idea to use him that way, judging from his sizzling projectiles.

Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, scholarly and intransigent Negro leader, suffers a severe defeat in his struggle of decades to lead his race toward segregation and cultural insularity. Under sharp attack from other leaders, he ends his editorship of "The Crisis," which he founded, and his membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and associated activities.

The encounter, which reveals a widening schism among American Negroes, was hastened by an editorial in "The Crisis" last January, in which Dr. Du Bois advocated segregation. It is a significant phase of racial groping and adaptation, stimulated by the great northern migrations and the pressure of the depression years. Since Booker T. Washington, Dr. Du Bois has been undoubtedly the most widely known interpreter and protagonist of the Negro race.

He was born in Great Barrington, Mass., of a Negro father and a mother who was one-half Dutch. The father, a barber and then a minister, an ineffectual day-dreamer, faded out of sight. With the aid of his mother, the handsome bronze boy, with aquiline features and a quick, facile mind, struggled through Fisk University and Harvard, later taking his doctorate in Europe, with the aid of the Slater fund. His book, "The Souls of Black Folk," has become a racial classic. He fought against discrimination. His hopes fading, he counselled a proud aloofness, and the gradual attainment of economic independence. He was a teacher of sociology at Atlanta University and conducted special surveys at the University of Pennsylvania. Twenty-four years ago he founded "The Crisis" and plunged into his life work of racial amelioration.

An impassioned poet as well as prose writer, he became the great litterateur of his race. Vigorously he exposed and assailed exploiters and charlatans of his own race, among them Marcus Garvey, with his fantastic scheme for a black empire in Africa. As the years passed, he seemed to envisage a self-supporting, self-respecting black race, cherishing and transmitting its own culture, encysted in the white civilization. He is again teaching in Atlanta University.

N.A.A.C.P.-1934

New York Times

FEB 4 1934

NEGRO AID GROUP 25 YEARS OLD FEB. 12

Mass Meetings and Dinners to Mark Anniversary—Fund of $120,000 Is Sought.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headquarters at 69 Fifth Avenue, will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary on Lincoln's Birthday, Feb. 12. It was organized on that date in 1909.

The celebration will be marked for two weeks by mass meetings and dinners. During the year an effort will be made to raise a fund of $120,000 to continue the association's work. It was said that the depression had cut the organization membership to about 80,000.

Among members of the board of directors are: Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York, Clarence Darrow of Chicago, William Allen White of Emporia, Kan.; Dr. William Allen Neilson, president of Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; Hubert T. Delany, Governor Frank Murphy of the Philippines, the Rev. A. Clayton Powell and Judge James A. Cobb of Washington, D. C.

In reviewing its achievements the association points out that it had won six victories in the United States Supreme Court. The first was one in which the "grandfather clause" in many State Constitutions was declared unconstitutional, in 1915. The second rendered in 1917 by the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional municipal ordinances restricting Negroes to the occupancy of certain designated areas. The other cases were those in which the rights of Negroes were involved. It always has been a leading opponent of lynching and has waged wide campaigns against it. It has held more than 3,500 mass meetings.

The association has 375 branches in forty States and the District of Columbia.

New York Times

FEB 11 1934

SOCIETY THAT AIDS THE NEGRO HAS ITS TWENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

The N. A. A. C. P. Has Fought Many Battles in Court To Protect the Rights of the Colored People

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary tomorrow. From a small group concerned with injustices suffered by members of the Negro race, the association has grown into a nation-wide organization with 375 branches and a membership of about 80,000. Over the country the members will not only celebrate the anniversary of the association but the 125th anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth.

The race riot of 1908 at Springfield, Ill., prompted the formation of the association. Soon after this occurrence William English Walling suggested an organization for the protection of the interests of the colored race and a call was sent out by Oswald Garrison Villard. Among those who signed the call were Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago; Lillian D. Wald of the Henry Street Settlement, New York; John Dewey, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Samuel Bowles, editor of The Springfield Republican.

The call for the conference was sent out on Lincoln's Birthday, 1909, with the result that a committee of forty was formed for active service in carrying out the purposes of the association. These included full citizenship rights for colored people under the Constitution of the United States and the laws of the various States. The association began a campaign against lynching, peonage, disfranchisement, segregation and discrimination in all fields, and it opposed unequal distribution of school funds in States carrying separate school systems.

In recent years the association had concentrated more upon the task of securing greater opportunities for work for colored people. Its latest activity has been in support of the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill, now before the United States Senate.

Fights in the Courts.

On several occasions the association has carried to the United States Supreme Court cases affecting the rights of colored people. One of these suits involved the "grandfather clause" found in many State Constitutions. This clause was a device to prevent colored people from voting in the South by stating in its qualifications for voters that the grandfather of the voter must have been eligible to vote before 1860. The Supreme Court declared the "grandfather clause" unconstitutional in 1915.

Another notable case was argued before the Supreme Court by Moorfield Storey, who was president of the association until his death in 1929. By the decision in this case the court declared unconstitutional municipal ordinances restricting colored people to certain designated areas. Two other decisions, one in 1927, the other in 1932, were obtained against the primary system established by Texas, which prevented Negro voters from participating in Democratic primary elections.

Apart from its legal activities, which have covered the courts of many States, the association has carried on an educational campaign, sending its material to more than a dozen foreign countries. Some of the books written by members of its staff have been translated into French, German, Russian, Norwegian and Japanese. One of its publications, "Thirty Years of Lynching," has had a wide circulation. The association's official organ, The Crisis, was first issued twenty-four years ago under the editorship of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who still conducts the publication.

Changes in Twenty-Five Years.

Among striking changes in the last quarter of a century, according to Miss Mary Ovington, treasurer of the N. A. A. C. P., is the swing of the Negro toward higher education and the arts.

"In its early days," said Miss Ovington, "The Crisis each year published a list of colored college graduates who received their B. A. degrees in American institutions. The list is now too long, has been for some years. We can only list those in the higher brackets, M. A.'s and Ph. D.'s. Women's names as well as men's lengthen this growing list. Women doctors, lawyers, teachers and social workers have had success, not only in the North but in Western and Southern cities. There has been a woman among Spingarn Medal winners, the award we make each year to the American Negro achieving distinction in a chosen field of work."

Progress has been slower in the business world, Miss Ovington pointed out, owing to the difficulty of establishing Negroes in small enterprises competing with chain stores, but there are large stores in Chicago, Baltimore and other cities manned entirely by Negroes. Miss Ovington said that while the adjustment of the Negro from the agricultural South to Northern conditions was difficult at first, his shift to industry is now accomplished with less strain and discontent.

The president of the N. A. A. C. P. is J. E. Spingarn, donor of the Spingarn Medal. In connection with the anniversary celebration the association will launch a campaign to raise a fund of $120,000, using the slogan "A penny for every Negro in the United States." The association hopes to raise this fund through its branches and voluntary committees.

N. Y. HERALD

MAR 18 1934

Negro Welfare Group Marks Its 25th Year

Association for Advancement of Colored People Holding Dinner Tonight

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, comprising 378 branches throughout the country, with headquarters at 69 Fifth Avenue, will hold a dinner tonight at International House, 500 Riverside Drive, in celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary. Since Lincoln's birthday, other branches of the society have been celebrating the event with dinners and meetings in their own localities.

Among those invited to speak are Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York; Representative Oscar De Priest of Illinois, and Fannie Hurst, author.

According to Walter White, seventh secretary of the organization, the problems facing the Negro today are practically the same as those of 1910. At that time the Negro was suffering from Jim Crow discrimination and economic exclusion from the more profitable professions. He was in constant danger of being beaten and injured, perhaps killed, in sporadic race riots and lynch parties which swept through Western and Southern towns like sudden prairie fires. Most of all, the Negro was kept on a low level of subsistence by means of small wages, the tenant system and the custom of the South and parts of the West which forbade him from exercising his political rights.

Problems Similar Today

Although the same problems are present today, in a greater or lesser degree, the association has interposed a record of solid achievements between them and the Negro during its quarter century of existence. When Negro labor was being overworked and underpaid on a Federal flood-control project along the Mississippi River in 1932 the association made vigorous protests. Now such practices against

members of the race are specifically outlawed in the contractors' code under the N. R. A.

When certain cities passed ordinances requiring Negroes to live within certain sections the association fought this residential discrimination so well that the Supreme Court declared such ordinances unconstitutional. Through its system of field research and accurate study of conditions leading to lynching the association has done much to gather data on and organized public opinion against recurrences of mob violence. The lynchings a year of Negroes have decreased appreciably since the association became active. In 1908 and 1909, respectively, ninety-two and seventy-five Negroes were lynched, while in 1932 a total of ten persons, Negro and white, met death at the hands of mobs.

Politically the association has advanced the status of the Negro. It has repeatedly fought for the right of Negroes to serve on juries in Southern states, and since the George Crawford case in Virginia many counties have automatically included the names of Negroes on the jury rolls.

Conditions Affect Workers

Until the Roosevelt administration, Mr. White said, it was difficult to obtain Federal action on the abuses of Negroes by contractors. But coincident with the more liberal government of the Democrats, Negroes faced increased discrimination in jobs and ordinary labor. In many cases throughout the South, Negroes lost their positions, which they had held for years, in order to clear the way for white men.

One of the most remarkable fights was that against Judge John J. Parker, of North Carolina, whom President Hoover nominated to a vacant place on the Supreme Court in 1930. At one time Judge Parker had spoken in favor of denying the Negro the vote. Through the dynamic lobbying of Mr. White, it became apparent that the Senate would not confirm Parker's nomination. His name was withdrawn and that of Owen J. Roberts, now associate justice, was substituted. Although Justice Roberts is not a liberal in the strict sense, Mr. White explained, he satisfied the association's requirements against racial prejudice.

Other activities of the association have ranged in the quarter century of its existence from protests, actively waged and successfully concluded, against discrimination toward Negroes in many cities; an anti-lynching campaign, in which research of lynchings and fact-finding have helped gather material which is now included in an anti-lynching bill before Congress and, most important, mass education of Negroes by means of pamphlets speakers, newspapers and the association's magazine, "The Crisis," edited by one of the chief polemists of his race, Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois.

The early days of the association described by Miss Mary White Ovington, one of its first secretaries and now its treasurer, were filled with a desire to reaffirm the principles toward the Negro race which Lincoln had laid down in his Emancipation Proclamation. During the summer of 1908 newspapers were filled with accounts of race riots in Springfield, Ill., Lincoln's former home, where scores of "the best citizens" waged a two-day war on Negroes, killing and wounding many and driving thousands from the city.

In January, 1909, Georgia passed a new law disenfranchising the Negro and thereby followed in the path of other Southern states. The United States Supreme Court had repeatedly refused to pass upon the constitutionality of this procedure. Jim Crow was active in all cities of the South and on trains and other public carriers. A Negro traveling was subject to all sorts of insults and degradation. Race riots, lynchings and other attacks on Negroes were more common than today. In 1908 and 1909 there were respectively ninety-two and seventy-five lynchings of Negroes in the country at large.

Studied Conditions Here

In the beginning of 1909 Miss Ovington was completing four years of social work among the Negroes of New York, having studied their housing, health, methods of labor. She was living in a Negro tenement on a Negro street. William English Walling, a Southerner with humanitarian training, was advocating a return to "the spirit of the abolitionist." With Miss Ovington and Dr. Henry Moscowitz he discussed plans for the formation of a society which should take definite action against the increasing inhumanity of treatment of the Negro throughout the entire country.

The committee went to see Oswald Garrison Villard, the grandson of the arch-abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, at that time president of "The New York Evening Post," and now publisher of "The Nation." He acceded enthusiastically to the idea, and wrote "The Lincoln's Birthday Call" which launched the association on its career.

Many Signed "Call"

Many well known social workers, ministers, editors and educators signed "The Call," among them Jane Addams, of Hull House; Professor John Dewey, William Dean Howells, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Hamilton Holt, Florence Kelley, the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Mary E. Wooley.

The conference took place the end of May and a committee of forty was formed to direct the work of the association. The permanent organization was not made until the following year, when Moorfield Storey, of Boston, was elected first president; Mr. Walling, chairman of the board, and Miss Frances Blascoer, executive secretary. Dr. Du Bois, at that time at Atlanta University, was called to become director of publicity and research, which position he nominally fills today as editor of "The Crisis."

Dr. Du Bois brought with him the principles of an organization, known as the Niagara Movement, which later joined the N. A. A. C. P. The platforms were very similar, with freedom of speech and abolition of race and color caste distinction playing important parts in both.

Work of the organization began to appear in concrete form soon after the initial program was decided on. In 1911 the first association pamphlet against lynching appeared. Since then others have been issued, based on extensive investigations of all known lynchings by trained field investigators.

The DuBois Wrangle

IF OUR INTERPRETATION of recent events is at all correct, we may expect to see a definite attempt to oust Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as editor of the Crisis within a few days. That eloquent and long-established symbol of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is in bad repute with a few directors of the association and with Walter White, secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.

For a number of years, it seems there has been a breach between the association's young secretary and the editor of its official organ. Instead of healing, the breach has opened wider in recent weeks. It neared its climax last week when Dr. DuBois, writing in the April Crisis, asserted that Mr. White is ineligible to determine the degree of segregation in this country because the secretary, Mr. White, is a "white man" and "he goes where he will in New York City and naturally meets no color line . . . he feels his new freedom in bitter contrast to what he was born to in Georgia."

This was Dr. DuBois' answer to a symposium in the Crisis in which the editor was scored for his acceptance of segregated Federal homesteads for Negroes. Perhaps he was influenced also by an alleged ouster movement of which Mr. White has been accused of leading. A short three months ago he was shorn of much of his power as editor of the Crisis and some quarters credited Mr. White with executing another piece of strategy.

In his criticism of Mr. White and other N. A. A. C. P. leaders, Dr. DuBois held that the results of the association's long fight have been nil, and we shall find segregation "necessary to our survival and a step towards the breaking down of barriers."

It seems to us that Dr. DuBois' assertion that no one "with a visible admixture of Negro blood can frequent hotels or restaurants" in the North is a bit exaggerated. However, we can agree that in most sections of the country Negroes must accept segregation or forego many facilities we have come to regard as necessary. We feel, and we believe Dr. DuBois feels, the Negro must not be satisfied with these conditions, but must accept them when they are necessary to his existence and advancement and continue fighting for equality and manhood. Certainly it would be damnable for leaders in the N. A. A. C. P. to throw him out for that view. For a generation Dr. DuBois has been the symbol of the Negro's battle for recognition, and the N. A. A. C. P. has been more effective because of his affiliation

New York Evening Post

JUN 8 1934

NEGROES AT ODDS ON SEGREGATION

Proposed Resignation of Dr. Du Bois From Board Reveals War Over Policy

The whole question of the Negro's way of life in a nation founded by white men is involved, it was learned today, in the proposed resignation of Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois from the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People.

In substance, the question is whether the Negro should face the fact of white discrimination, adopt a policy of voluntary segregation and try for an independent society within a predominantly white United States.

Regins As Editor

Dr. Du Bois, favoring such voluntary segregation, is at odds with at least part of the board of directors of the N. A. A. C. P. and has sent his resignation as editor of The Crisis, Negro monthly in which he has pushed his views.

It is predicted that his resignation will be accepted at the board's monthly meeting on Monday. Either way, the controversy vividly revives an issue that was raised by Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute and the most famous Negro leader of his day.

Dr. DuBois, who has been prominent in the association fo rtwenty-four years, also offers his resignation from the "Crisis" board, the association's board and the Spingarn Medal Committee and offers to surrender his place as director of publications and research for the association. He would have all of these resignations take effect on Monday.

His position on segregation, stated in his editorial column, "Postscript," is strongly opposed by Walter White, successor to James Weldon Johnson as secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., and at the April meeting the board adopted an anti-segregation resolution. Its wording would seem to express disapproval of such institutions as the Negro colleges and schools of the South.

Dr. Dubois published this resolution, another which he had submitted and one taking a middle position. At its next meeting the board adopted resolutions to the effect that no salaried officer of the association should criticize the association's policy in "The Crisis" and that no board member shouid make the board's decisions public before their official publication.

Proposes Negro Communities

"The thinking colored people of the United States must stop being stampeded by the word segregation," said Dr. Dubois in his editorial.

In his youth, said Dr. DuBois, he had hoped that with the advent of well-schooled Negroes discrimination would cease, but it has grown stronger, he thinks, and there is nothing to do except acknowledge this fact and adopt a policy in accordance with it. So he proposes Negro communities, with Negro shops, schools, banks, insurance companies, hospitals and a broadly communal life, much as exists in Harlem.

If and when he resigns it is expected that he will expound his ideas at Atlanta University, where he has been teaching.

Dr. Joel E. Spingarn, president of the N. A. A. C. P., has taken the middle position and standing with Mr. White are Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of the Cheyney Training School for Teachers, and David H. Pierce.

Dr. DuBois says that Mr. White's appearance is such that he can "pass," so that he can have no full appreciation of the Negro's position.

N.A.A.C.P. -1934

Oklahoma's Welcome

Oklahoma City and the State of Oklahoma welcomes this week with open arms the officers and delegates to the 25th annual session of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Association has come to a great state and a progressive people. The convention convenes in a state where the Negro has reduced his illiteracy lower than in any other state in the South, and where black folk can boast of a greater per capita of wealth.

Black Dispatch

True it is the governing agencies in Oklahoma still practice segregation, Jim Crow and disfranchisement, yet, even so, Oklahoma offers a liberal atmosphere where freedom of speech and press is tolerated and where reside many white men and women who believe in justice and fairness and who join with black citizens in fighting for the things that ought to be.

6-28-34

Outstanding is the fact that during the past three years there has been no disgraceful lynchings within the confines of our fair commonwealth. We have in the governor's chair a chief executive who avers and declares that during his term of office no mob shall take a black man's life. The attitude of this southern governor on the question of mob murder is one other state governors would do well to emulate. It proves conclusively that after all we not only need laws, but courageous men and governors to administer law.

Oklahoma City

It is with this in mind that the Black Dispatch suggests to the 25th annual session that some plan be worked out toward organizing Negroes independently to support men for public office in the South who have shown courage in the espousal of the cause of justice. While the Association has a glorious record along many battle fronts, we believe that this militant organization could do great good in educating Negroes in the intelligent use of the ballot.

If we read correctly the signs of the times, old party lines are about to be broken down. There is a possibility that never again will at least one of the old parties present a candidate for president. Both may be blotted out if Roosevelt's NRA program fails. With the passing of parties with traditions which reach back to slavery, there will come a new freedom to Negroes, and the N. A. A. C. P. can do much to prepare Negroes for the strategy a minority race group should use at the ballot box.

Oklahoma offers a liberal atmosphere where an intelligent discussion of any racial question will receive sincere, sympathetic study. The Association can do far more good by taking their discussions into the South than by holding conferences in the North. The violent radicalism of Communism is forcing America at last to give the association its rightful place in the program of social readjustment.

The Oklahoma City Negro Business League and the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. has done all in its power to care for the assembled delegation. Hospitality—Oklahoma hospitality is effervescing and bubbling over everywhere. The latch string is hanging on the outside from the capitol to the city hall. Our homes are yours.

NAACP, Once Half-White Now Is 90 Per Cent Colored

Mary White Ovington Notes Change of 25 Years, and Asserts Association Should Go out for Thousands of White Members.

Thousands of white people all over America gladly would join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and support its program if they were properly educated and recruited by colored people.

Pro-American

6-30-34

Baltimore Md.

This is the assertion of Miss Mary White Ovington, treasurer of the association, and one of its founders in 1909, in her address to the opening mass meeting of the 25th annual conference at Oklahoma City, Okla., June 27, at Calvary Baptist Church.

Miss Ovington declared most white people were "abnormally ignorant" of the problems of Negroes and urged colored people to drop their own race prejudice and approach whites "man to man" and them to join in the work of the association. After telling something of the beginning of the association and its achievements in the past twenty-five years Miss Ovington appealed for a larger white membership, saying:

"There is one very noticeable change between the association of twenty-five years ago and the association today, the proportion of Negroes to whites. At our first conference, held in 1909 in New York City, the number of white and colored was about even. Today the whites are not one in a hundred. Only at the meetings of the board, do we have decisions that represent interracial discussion.

"I shall not try to analyze why this is, but I believe it to have been a policy, unconscious perhaps, but nevertheless a policy, of the colored members. It is they who have formed branches throughout the country, they who have sent in their fifty names necessary to secure a charter. Rarely is a white man's name among the number. And this not only in sections where the whites might not be in sympathy with so radical a colored man's program as ours but also in cities where there would be no difficulty in securing white membership. Branch organizations are colored and the white man who might be interested knows nothing about them.

"This is not true of a few of our large cities. Judge Jayne of Detroit, David Pierce of Cleveland, Miss McDowell of Chicago, the late Moorfield Storey of Boston: these have been and some still are loyal and important supporters to the cause. At one time Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, was president of our Chicago branch. Senator Capper was long active in the Topeka, Kans., branch. In New York, Governor Lehman is one of our most loyal supporters. I could name others, important people who have been interested in our movement. But they are exceptions. The fact remains that the colored man has segregated himself in the N.A.A.C.P.

Must Educate Whites

"Segregation. That is the word that brings instant attention in a colored audience today. Dr. DuBois's editorial, that pointed out a value in segregation, was repudiated by the bulk of his readers. But what I want to point out is that it is not the white man who does all of the segregating. For twenty-five years I have watched the N.A.A.C.P. become more and more an organization manned by one race only.

"For myself I can see no advantage in these tactics. This is a movement for larger opportunity for an oppressed minority. But ultimately this opportunity will be given by the majority. Why then make no effort to enlist such whites as are in sympathy with the minority's aspirations? Naturally, the colored man wants to lead his organization, but when he gets to work he finds that he needs white friends—on the bench, in the jury box. Why not educate people in his ideas? I often wonder if colored people have any realization of the abysmal ignorance of white Americans regarding their conditions. Many splendid white people in the United States are battling for the Jews in Germany but are quite indifferent, because they know nothing about it, to baiting of colored people in their home state.

"Perhaps you think the white people are not interested. I wish you could have seen the way in which the authors of America, at Mr. White's call, poured in their acceptances to the Writers' League against Lynching. It seemed as though every writer of account in the country, northerner and southerner, easterner and westerner, wanted to be enrolled in it. But the authors would never have thought to come together. It took the secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. to get this. And there are other issues almost as dramatic as lynching. Get them then before white people. Get the colored newspapers into their homes. I wish that every colored paper would have one issue of the year especially for whites and that every colored subscriber would circulate it. Don't blame people too much for being indifferent to your ills when you don't ask them to drop their indifference and join with you.

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"Segregation. You don't to be segregated. You want to be Americans. You are Americans. You have worked for America and fought for America, and died for America. But you want to live in this country with dignity, as George Arliss says in that marvelous film, "The House of Rothschild." How is it possible to get this except you win the whites to your cause? And there are white people ready to join your cause if you only invite them, man to man, to join it. I know there are, and they would come at your invitation twice as quickly as they would at mine. Ours is a battle for justice. It is the demand that color shall not bar men from the opportunity offered by this republic. And there are courageous white people all over this land who would like to help if you would drop your color prejudice and go out and bring them in."

DUBOIS REJECTS OLIVE BRANCH FROM NAACP

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7-7-34

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[Special to the Afro]

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On his way out, Dr. DuBois, in strong letters, declared himself no longer in sympathy with the organization he worked with for twenty-five years. The N.A.A.C.P., he says, has no program, no organization and incompetent executive officers.

His letter is as follows:

"In deference to your desire to postpone action on my resignation of June 11. I have allowed my nominal connection with the Crisis to extend to July 1, and have meantime entered into communication with the chairman of the board, and with your committee of reconciliation.

"I appreciate the good will and genuine desire to bridge an awkward break which your action indicated, and yet it is clear to me, and I think to the majority of the board that under the circumstances my resignation must stand. I owe it, however, to the board and to the public to make clear at this time the deeper reasons for my action, lest the apparent cause of my resignation seem inadequate.

In the past, the pattern that the segregature assumed that the segregation argument was no longer the main reason for my withdrawal. It was an important occasion and in the case of the Tuskegee Hospital. This is shown by the 8th annual reports of the Veterans' Hospitals. In both instances, we pro- and con- fully asserted

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Segregation Not Main Issue

"Many friends have truth-

"The whole matter assumed, however, a serious aspect when the board peremptorily forbade all criticism of the officers and policies in the Crisis. I had planned to continue constructive criticism of the N.A.A.C.P. in the Crisis because I firmly believe that the N.A.A.C.P. faces the most gruelling of tests which come to an old organization: founded in a day when a negative program of protest was imperative and effective. it succeeded so well that the program seemed perfect and unlimited. Suddenly, by World War and chaos, we are called to formulate a positive program of construction and inspiration. We have been thus far unable to comply.

Facing Crisis

"Today this organization, which has been great and effective for nearly a quarter of a century, finds itself in a time of crisis and change, without a program, without effective organization, without executive officers who have either the ability or disposition to guide the assocation in the right direction.

"These are harsh and arresting charges. I make them deliberately, and after long thought, earnest effort, and with infinite writhing of spirit. To the very best of my ability, and every ounce of my strength, I have since the beginning of the great depression, tried to work inside the organization for its realignment and readjustment to new duties. I have been almost absolutely unsuccessful. My program for economic readjustment had been totally ignored. My demand for a change in personnel has been considered as mere petty jealousy and my protest against our mistakes and blunders has been looked upon as disloyalty to the organization.

"I Can Do Nothing More"

"So long as I sit by silently consenting, I share responsibility. If I criticize within, my words fall on deaf ears. If I criticize openly, I seem to be washing dirty linen in public. There is but one recourse, complete and final withdrawal, not because all is hopeless nor because there are no signs of realization of the possibilities of reform and of the imperative demand for men and vision, but because evidently I personally can do nothing more.

"I leave behind me in the organization many who have long thought with me, and yet hesitated at action; many persons of large ideals who see no agents at hand to realize them, and who fear that the dearth of ability and will to sacrifice within this organization, indicates a smilar lack within the whole race. I know that both sets of friends are wrong, and while I desert them with deep reluctance, it is distinctly in the hope that the fact of my going may arouse to action and bring a great and gifted race to the rescue, with a rebirth of that fine idealism and devotion that founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Out of the Picture"

"Under those circumstances, there is but one thing for me to do, and that is to make the supreme sacrifice of taking myself absolutely and unequivocally out of the picture, so that hereafter the leaders of the National Association for the Advancemet of Colored People, without the distraction of personalities and accumulated animosities, can give their whole thought and attention to the rescuing of the greatest organization for the emancipation of colored people that America has ever had.

"I am, therefore, insisting upon my resignation, and on July 1, whether the board of directors acts or does not act, I automatically cease to have any connection whatsoever in any shape or form with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I do not, however, cease to wish it well, to follow it with personal and palpitating interest, and applaud it when it is able to rescue itself from its present impossible position and reorganize itself according to the demands of the present crisis."

N. A. A. C. P. Silent On Herndon, Atlanta Six

Conference Votes Down Resolution Against Fascism

ADA WRIGHT SPEAKS

Newton's Speech Struck From Record

(Special to the Daily Worker)

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., July 2.—Bowing, perforce, to the mass sentiment for the Scottsboro defense, the 25th Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, meeting in this city, accorded the floor to the Scottsboro Mother, Mrs. Ada Wright, to make an appeal for the nine innocent Scottsboro boys facing legal massacre, August 31 under the recent decision of the Alabama Supreme Court.

This is the first time Mother Wright, or any other Scottsboro Mother, has been permitted to make an appeal for the boys at any N.A.A.C.P. meeting, controlled by its top leadership.

Mother Wright spoke for almost an hour, describing her European Scottsboro Defense Tour in company with the Scottsboro martyr, the late J. Louis Engdahl. Commenting on her enthusiastic reception in the Soviet Union, she briefly described the successful solution of the national question by the proletarian revolution and told how the national minorities, formerly oppressed under the tsarist regime, are now enjoying full equality—economic, political, cultural. She appealed to the delegates to join the united front fight to smash the lynch verdicts and force the release of the nine victims of capitalist justice.

Minority Resolution Against Fascism Defeated

The conference is attended by less than 100 delegates and visitors. After a hot debate on a minority resolution against fascism, the resolution was referred back to the Resolution Committee and killed. The resolution was vigorously defended by Charles Houston of Washington, who exposed the widespread discrimination against Negroes under the N.R.A. codes. It was opposed by Walden of Atlanta and other Negro democrats.

A majority resolution mentions the Scottsboro case, but fails to propose united front action with the International Labor Defense and the revolutionary white and Negro workers fighting for the freedom of the boys.

Calls for Closer Relations With "Liberal" Lynchers

"The Changing Front" was discussed at the session Friday morning with Mary White Ovington advocating closer cooperation by the N.A.A.C.P. local Southern leadership with the Southern white "liberals." B. J. Stanley, of Baton Rouge, La., advocated a crystallization of all Negro reformist trends under the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P., thereby trying to head off the growing revolt of the Negro petty-bourgeoisie against official Negro bourgeois reformist as represented by the N.A.A.C.P., the National Urban League, etc.

The session Friday afternoon was perhaps the hottest of any conference in the 25 years existence of the N.A.A.C.P. Starting off with a sharp debate on the question of "democratizing" the organization, proceeding to the overwhelming defeat of a resolution indirectly criticizing the "Pittsburgh Courier," unofficial organ of the top leadership, it ended with wild discussion on how to expunge from the record the speech of Herbert Newton, International Labor Defense representative, in which he called upon the delegates to cooperate with the I.L.D. to save Angelo Herndon from the chain gang, and the Scottsboro boys and the Atlanta Six from the electric chair.

Leadership In Panic Over Newton's Speech

The top leadership, which at first tried to prevent Newton from addressing the convention and interrupted him six different times during the ten minutes allotted to him, became panicky when Newton analyzed the desperate situation confronting the Negro people and declared:

"The three most important questions any oppressed minority group could discuss are:

"(1) What are its aims? (2) through what methods is it possible to achieve these aims, and (3) with whom must it fight, and against whom must it fight, to make the achievement of these aims inevitable?"

Newton then proved the responsibility of the capitalist-landlord system for the bitter exploitation and persecution of the Negro people and pointed out that the potential allies of the Negro people are (1) the broad masses of exploited white workers; (2) the poor and middle farmers; (3) the lower strata of the middle class, i.e., small business men, professionals, intellectuals and all others who suffer under the rule of monopoly capitalism.

Newton Calls For Real Fight On Lynching

He attacked the so-called Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill as a reformist measure, designed to deceive the masses and head off their revolutionary struggles against fascist lynch terror, and contrasted the reformist contents of that bill with the Bill of Civil Rights for the Negro People and Against Lynching, drawn up by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

Newton's speech was expunged from the record.

Congressman Oscar DePriest, addressing the conference Saturday night, declared his "opposition" to discrimination at the same time that he voiced acceptance of the denial of real equality to the Negro people by the white ruling class.

The Conference leaders advanced the usual reformist panaceas dressed up in a more cunning demagogy: faith in the discredited capitalist courts (under the heading of "Law Enforcement") and the pretense that the lynchers and their courts can be entrusted with the task of wiping out lynching, without pressure from the anti-lynching masses. Mary White Ovington, of the Walter White-Spingarn ruling clique, advocated closer cooperation with the "liberal" section of the Southern ruling class lynchers, represented in the Inter-Racial Commissions, during the discussion on "The Changing Front."

The fruits of that cooperation are already evident in the base betrayal of George Crawford, Virginia Negro, by the N.A.A.C.P. leaders and their "defense" attorneys who, turned prosecutor, declared Crawford "guilty" and advocated life imprisonment for this innocent, framed-up Negro worker. The traitorous nature of that co-operation is also to be seen in the persistent attempts of the N.A.A.C.P. to disrupt the mass defense for the nine innocent Scottsboro boys, in the weasel resolution adopted by the convention, mildly protesting the Scottsboro frame-up but ignoring the appeal of the Scottsboro Mother, Ada Wright, for a united front struggle to save the boys.

On the attempt of the Georgia ruling class to murder heroic Angelo Herndon on the chain gang, and to burn six other Negro and white organizers in the electric chair, the conference adopted a traitorous policy of silent acquiescence.

The rank and file of the organization, whose militant support of the Scottsboro fight, forced the top leadership to reverse its policy of denying the floor to the Scottsboro Mothers, and enabled Mrs. Wright to speak at the Conference, are faced with the task of organizing and sharpening the fight against the agents of imperialism who now dominate the organization.

Repudiate the united front from on top with the imperialist enemy! Build the united front from below with the revolutionary white and Negro workers, with all elements sincerely opposed to lynching and willing to carry on a relentless fight for full, unconditional equality for the Negro people, and for the immediate, unconditional and safe release of Angelo Herndon and the Scottsboro boys!

The NAACP Conference

THE 25th Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, just concluded in Oklahoma City, Okla., occurred on the background of growing fascist attacks upon the whole toiling population, directed with savage vehemence against the Negro masses in particular.

N. A. A. C. P. – 1934

N. A. A. C. P. Gets Fine Publicity In South

Too much credit cannot be given to the daily newspapers in Oklahoma City, the United and Associated Press for the very fine publicity given to the 25th annual session of the N. A. A. C. P. It was a splendid expression of good will and accord, and one which will bring lasting benefits to both races of the Southwest.

Thousands of white people who read their morning and evening papers, and saw reflected there the many activities of the Association, together with the weighty and scholarly discussions of vital governmental problems, cannot but see black folk in an entirely different light.

One had only to go down into the white section of the city to discover the impress this favorable publicity was having upon the citizens. We recall one morning that at least a score of whites mentioned something in one way or other regarding the sessions before this writer could go down into the business district and return.

The Negro suffers most from bad publicity. Too often the crap-shooting and degenerate black man carries the spotlight in white newspapers, while the virtue and the valuable contributions made by Negroes to our present day civilization and culture is hidden in the city briefs.

Booker Washington used to tell of a meeting he held at one time in the far South. He made an address on the day in question and the hundreds of whites present applauded and endorsed his remarks so unreservedly that Washington said he knew he would have headlines in the next day's city papers.

"I could not secure the paper the next morning early enough," declared Washington. "When I did acquire one, I turned eagerly its pages, only to find about an inch regarding my speech on the back page. On the front page, however," declared Washington, "I found an eight column headline featuring a Negro who had stolen some chickens."

High-pointing the Negro's faults and forgetting his virtues is the cornerstone upon which all race friction rests. No law is higher than public sentiment; in fact, no law can withstand opposing public sentiment. With this in mind, we have always argued that white newspapers can do more in six months to correct racial attitudes and lynching especially, than any proposed statute. Start the people to thinking right and they will, of course, act right. Newspapers have the power to do this.

We trust the managing editors of our daily papers have also observed the reaction of the populace towards the liberality in which they have indulged. In fact they should have closer contact with the effect this favorable publicity has had on their group. We trust that the experiment has proved to them so effective in general advance along the lines of accord and interracial comity, that the experiment will now become a part of their definite policy.

Oklahoma City, Okla.
TIMES

JUN 23 1934

U. S. Parley on Racial Issues Scheduled in City Next Week

DePriest, Negro Congressman, Is Principal Speaker At National Convention of Association for Advancement Of Colored People; Leaders to Attend.

Mary White Ovington

Walter White

Discussion of problems bearing on the Negro will be the order of the day when hundreds of delegates of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People meet in Oklahoma City next week for the annual national conference.

Climaxing the conference will be an address by Oscar DePriest, Chicago Negro congressman, at the inter-racial meeting which will be held at the First Presbyterian church, 1001 Robinson avenue, Sunday afternoon, July 1.

With both white and Negro membership, the group is the largest inter-racial organization in the world, boasting such men as William Allen White, Emporia, Kan., editor; Clarence Darrow, noted lawyer; Jane Addams, social worker, and Senator Arthur Capper, Kansas, on its board of directors.

Theme of the four-day conference will be the status of the Negro in American life, with emphasis on problems brought out under the new deal, lynching, "white" primaries, segregation and educational opportunities.

Noted Leaders on Program

Both white and Negro speakers are scheduled to appear on the conference program which begins Wednesday night and closes Sunday.

Miss Mary White Ovington, New York, foremost white woman engaged in inter-racial work in America, and Charles H. Houston, Washington, dean of the Howard university law school, Washington, are on the program to talk at the opening session Wednesday night.

Miss Ovington, lecturer and writer for the organization, who was educated at Radcliffe, will talk on "Our Twenty-five Years of Work." Dean Howard, who was chief counsel for George Crawford, charged in 1933 in the sensational Ilsley murder case in Middleburg, Va., is scheduled to deliver the keynote of the conference.

Larson to Speak

The city's welcome to the conference will be given Wednesday night by O. M. Mosier, city manager, and W. G. Sneed of the Oklahoma City branch.

At the Friday night session the twentieth Spingarn medal, awarded annually to the American Negro adjudged to have made the most distinguished record of achievement in the past year, will be presented to Dean W. T. B. Williams of Tuskogee Institute for his work in Negro education. Presentation speech will be delivered by Rev. J. Raymond Henderson, Atlanta, Ga.

Jess Larson, former mayor of Chickasha, who became a member of the N. A. A. C. P. at a mass meeting in 1930, after the lynching of a Negro there, will talk Saturday night on "City Government and Its Inter-racial Problems."

Dunjee on Program

Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, also will talk Saturday night, discussing the case of Jess Hollins, Sapulpa Negro accused in 1931, of criminal assault, who has been defended by the Oklahoma branches of the association following reversal of his conviction by the Oklahoma criminal court of appeals in 1932.

Walter White, secretary of N. A. A. C. P. will be on the program with DePriest Sunday afternoon. He will talk on the work of the organization during the year. White is author of a number of books dealing with Negro life: "Flight," "Fire in the Flint," "Rope and Faggot."

Lynch Law Is Issue

White is a member of President Roosevelt's advisory council on the Virgin Islands.

White, probably the best-informed individual in America on lynching, will also talk Thursday afternoon on the campaign conducted since January 1 for passage of the Costigan-Wagner federal anti-lynching bill in the senate.

N.A.A.C.P. Leadership in Lynchers' Camp

Policy of Organization Has Not Changed, Its Role More Obvious

By HARRY HAYWOOD

ARTICLE III.

THE N.A.A.C.P. could do no other than it did in the case of George Crawford. From its noble phrases and high promises, it arrived at this shameful treachery as surely and inevitably as a man sliding steadily downhill will arrive at the bottom.

Harry Haywood

There were years when the treachery of the N.A.A.C.P. was not so obvious. But the policy of the organization has not changed. It is the situation in which it functions that has changed. The capitalist world is in upheaval. On the one hand there are the revolutionary workers, and their allies, the oppressed peoples and nations, fighting with every weapon for their freedom, for full equality, for land, for the right to self-determination. On the other hand stand the oppressors — the landlords, factory-owners, bankers seeing their system crumbling, using more terror, more oppression, more cruelty than ever before against the people they must keep under control in order to retain mastery of the earth. The struggle grows fiercer, the light grows clearer, and we see the combatants for what they are. Twenty-five years ago, the mincing words, the half-measures, the compromises of an organization like the N.A.A.C.P. were not so easily seen in their true light. Today every hesitation, every treachery, stands out in bold relief. The struggle draws closer to its climax.

Two Roads

The old world of wage-slavery and national oppression is fighting for its very life. There are but two roads and the Negro masses must choose between them. There is no middle path. Every organization must stand forth clearly and proclaim whether they would help to deliver the death-blow to the old way of life, and bring about a new way, or whether they will pit their forces with the present masters and help them live a while longer.

The N.A.A.C.P. has answered this question. It has answered it most clearly in the case of Crawford. It is on the side of the old order, the capitalist system. It would not disturb the relations of the present.

Negroes Must Choose: Old Order of Slavery or Fight for Freedom

The N.A.A.C.P. is the agent of the white rulers. It is dependent on the white rulers—witness Houston's statement that "the very existence of the N.A.A.C.P." depends upon the "good-will of the dominant majority"—that is, of the American ruling class. **The N.A.A.C.P. acted as it did in the case of George Crawford, because it could act in no other way.**

The Way Out

Against the treachery of the N.A.A.C.P., the revolutionary working-class organizations of white and Negro people come forward with a policy of struggle. The Communist Party, the International Labor Defense, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights — and others — say plainly: The oppression of the Negro people is part and parcel of the whole system of capitalism. The capitalists will not give up their profits without a bitter fight. There is but one way out for the Negro people — the way of militant, uncompromising struggle, in alliance with the revolutionary white working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The treachery of the N.A.A.C.P. in Virginia is not the backsliding of an honest but confused group. The Crawford treachery is the inevitable outcome of the class position of the N.A.A.C.P. leadership. This treachery will repeat itself, over and over, in yet sharper forms as the struggle becomes fiercer.

The Negro people must choose. On the one hand there is the fight that will bring us to ultimate victory and freedom. On the other hand there is the road of passivity, of agreement with the policies and systems of the lynchers. This road will help keep the old world of oppression and slavery in the saddle a while longer.

To the Negro people, to the white workers willing to fight for Negro freedom, we say: Join the organizations that struggle uncompromisingly for the rights of the Negro workers. Join the Communist Party, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the International Labor Defense, the revolutionary trade unions. Build a broad united front mass defense movement for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon, and for the elementary rights of the Negro people!

To the honest workers and intellectuals in the N.A.A.C.P. we say: Denounce the treachery of your misleaders, the Houstons, the Walter Whites, the DuBoises. Organize oppositions within the N.A.A.C.P. branches to fight this treachery. On the basis of concrete struggles for the immediate needs of the masses, the masses join with the workers in the militant fighting organizations in a common fight against the ruling class oppressors.

Wichita Falls, Tex.
TIMES

JUN 14 1934

IS SEGREGATION THE ANSWER?

Something of a schism has developed in the ranks of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It goes back to a movement which the late Booker T. Washington fostered and on which the more thoughtful negroes of today are sharply divided. It is known as the segregationist movement. It contemplates the establishment of negro communities, as nearly autonomous as possible. It would put the negro, within these communities and regions, "on his own," running his own schools, shops, insurance companies, banks, hospitals and, to a large extent, his own local government.

The more advanced negroes bitterly opposed this movement in Booker T. Washington's day, and he died without doing much to further it. Of late it has developed new strength, and a group led by W. E. B. DuBois, negro writer and editor, has become active in its behalf. There still is very determined opposition to it, and a split has appeared in the leadership of the N. A. A. C. P. over the matter.

Booker T. Washington believed that racial discrimination was a fact which the negro must face and that it imposed a handicap that could not be overcome so long as the negro and the white man dwelt side by side. His idea was that by putting the negroes off to themselves, under suitable auspices, they could accomplish vastly more for themselves. Those who oppose the segregationist idea appear to believe that the way to deal with racial discrimination is to break it down, which of course is a prodigious task.

It would be an interesting experiment. It might succeed. Even if, as is more likely, it failed, it would probably further the solution of the negro problem.

WEEP NOT FOR HIM

Dr. DuBois assumed the role of a spoiled child in his letter to the Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P. demanding the acceptance of his resignation as editor of the 'Crisis Magazine.' The distinguished scholar showed symptoms of "bad legs" when he resorted to personal attacks upon Walter White and other N. A. A. C. P. executives a few months ago. These symptoms became more pronounced when he tendered his resignation. His long epistle published last week belittling the association and its officials and petulantly quitting without awaiting the action of the board make the diagnosis certain. It is just another case of too much petting. The N. A. A. C. P. will lose nothing by ridding itself of this spoiled child who would either rule or ruin. The Doctor is entitled to a respectful adieu as he leaves for his Atlanta retreat, but weep not for him.

N.A.A.C.P. – 1934.

BATTERING DOWN THE BARRIERS OF PREJUDICE

African-American Presbyterian

Stirring Chapters from the 25-Year History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

8-2-34 Charlotte, N.C.

NO. 14. THE FIGHT AGAINST EXTRADITION

Under various topical heads many cases of legal defense handled by the Association have been previously discussed. This article deals with some of the outstanding extradition cases which the N. A. A. C. P. has fought. The Association always acts with alacrity in all such cases where, first, it is clearly evident that grave injustice has been done or is about to be done on account of race or color prejudice; and, second, where entrance into such a case will clearly establish a precedent affecting the rights of colored people in general. The N. A. A. C. P. is not a legal aid bureau, but an agency to prevent injustice based on color. It has consistently fought against the extradition of accused Negroes from the North to Southern communities because of the grave danger in such instances that they might either be lynched or "railroaded" to long imprisonment on flimsy evidence.

The first important extradition case fought by the Association was that of Robert L. Hill, head of the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America, arrested in Topeka, Kas., January 22, 1920, for complicity in the Elaine (Ark.) "riots." The State of Arkansas asked Governor Allen of Kansas for Hill's extradition. The N. A. A. C. P. promptly telephoned United States Senator Arthur Capper, an Association Director and former President of the Topeka branch, who immediately asked Governor Allen to defer issuance of extradition papers until the Association was able to present the facts secured by it during the Elaine disturbance. He also telephoned Hugh T. Fisher, County Attorney of Shawnee County, Kansas, asking him to act as chief counsel for Hill. Equally prompt action on the part of Governor Allen and Attorney Fisher stopped hasty return of Hill to Arkansas where, as supposed leader of the Negro "revolt" he would doubtless have been lynched. At the extradition hearing held on January 27, 1920, Governor Allen, over protests of Attorney General Arbuckle, of Arkansas, granted a continuance to permit sworn testimony showing that Hill was not leader of the "insurrection." This evidence was promptly secured. N. A. A. C. P. Branches everywhere deluged Governor Allen with telegrams, letters and petitions urging him to refuse extradition. James W. Johnson conferred with Governor Allen in Chicago regarding the case.

Finally on March 23, 1920, after several long hearings and the presentation of much evidence, and in the face of bitter and vicious criticism from Southern newspapers, Governor Allen refused extradition on the ground that Hill's life would not be safe in Arkansas.

Undaunted, Arkansas tried first in the Kansas State Courts and then in the Federal courts to get Mr. Hill. April 8, 1920, was set for a hearing on the Federal indictment. Meantime Walter White conferred with Assistant Attorney General Herron at Washington, D. C., presenting evidence of the vindictiveness of the Arkansas authorities and the probability of Hill being lynched. This information caused the Department of Justice to order the U. S. Attorney at Little Rock to forward all evidence of alleged violation of Federal statutes in the Hill case for examination.

Later Judge Pollock, after the April 8 hearing, granted a provisional extradition writ providing that Hill should be returned to Arkansas to be tried upon the Federal charge in the Federal courts, with the stipulation that if Hill was not convicted he was to be returned safely by Arkansas authorities to the Federal court in Kansas. This Arkansas refused to do, thus substantiating the N. A. A. C. P. charge that it was motivated merely by vengeance. Judge Pollock thereupon released Mr. Hill under $2,000 bond for a hearing in October. Again Walter White went to Washington to confer with Department of Justice officials. On October 8, 1920, both cases in the Federal Court against Mr. Hill were dismissed by order of the Attorney General. Mr. Hill wa a free man. Mr. Fisher, the white attorney, served without fee, as did Attorneys Guy, Scott and Thomas (colored) of Topeka, Kan., and Attorneys Jones (colored) and Hibbler, of Little Rock, Ark.

The Thomas Ray Victory

One of the most notable extradition fights was made by the Detroit Branch in 1920 to prevent the return of Thomas Ray to Wilkinson County, Ga. Ray had killed a white man there in self-defense. Escaping the mob and making his way to Detroit, Mich., he was arrested on September 5 on a warrant issued in Georgia. Attorneys for Ray were Messrs. Willis and Hinton, associated with Attorney W. Hayes McKirney, of the Detroit Branch. At the initial hearing they told Governor Sleeper that Ray would surely be lynched if returned to Georgia, but the Governor granted extradition when asured by Governor Dorsey, of Georgia, that Ray would be protected and given a fair trial. Ray's attorneys immediately applied for a writ of habeas corpus which was granted at the October 13 hearing before Judge Hunt, but Ray was promptly rearrested on the indictment forwarded from Georgia.

At a new hearing on October 20, Walter White personally submitted evidence to Governor Sleeper based on personal investigations showing that Georgia authorities could neither guarantee Ray's safety nor a fair trial. Ray's lawyers also revealed defects in the indictment. The Governor then reserved decision until Georgia had opportunity to correct the flaws. Again the Governor granted extradition but again Ray's attorneys blocked the move.

Meanwhile the Detroit Branch secured the signatures of more than 2,000 citizens to a petition asking Governor Sleeper not to grant the extradition and raised more than $650 for the Ray defense. The case aroused tremendous interest in Michigan and Georgia through the publicity campaign of the N. A. A. C. P. As a result of this determined fight, Governor A. J. Groesbeck ordered Thomas Ray's release on August 2, 1921.

The Freeing of Ed Knox

In 1921 the Charleston, W. Va., Branch, then headed by Mordecai W. Johnson, took up the case of Ed Knox, a Negro arrested and accused of the murder of a white man in Glenmary, Morgan County, Tenn. Knox claimed he slew the white man in self defense and would be lynched if returned for trial.

State Representative T. Gillis Nutter, the Branch Attorney, received from John J. Cornwell, of West Virginia, assurance that opportunity would be given for presenattion of evidence in Knox's behalf before extraditing him into Tennessee. Meanwhile an N. A. A. C. P. investigator was sent to Glenmary to get the facts and report on the state of the public mind concerning Knox.

The case was finally called on February 12 but a continuance was granted until February 15 to enable Tennessee authorities to arrive with the evidence. On February 13 the Tennessee sheriff wired the Charleston police that he had been unable to secure the necessary evidence against Knox. Mr. Nutter immediately notifiel Judge Wertz of the city court of this information and demanded Knox's release. Judge Wertz referred Mr. Nutter to the police chief who denied that he had received the message from the Tennessee sheriff. Attorney Nutter rushed to the police station in time to hear the day lieutenant te-

phoning Chief Charnock, informing him of the disputed message from Tennessee. Mr. Nutter again demanded the release of Knox. Judge Wertz granted it and Knox became a free man.

The prompt action of the N. A. A. C. P. prevented Knox from being rushed off to Tennessee and certain death. One colored man, supposed to have been Knox, had been lynched for the killing a few days after it took place.

A Tale of Two Peons

The same year two colored boys, Wilbur and Castoria Styles, were arrested and imprisoned at Kansas City, Mo., on complaint of O. W. Dodd, of Earl, Ark., who claimed they owed him $80. The Styles boys had been tenants on Dodd's plantation and owed him only according to the book-keeping methds in vogue in the peonage country. Knowing they could never earn enough money to square themselves on the landlord's books, they had fled leaving behind four bales of cotton. The Kansas City (Mo.) Branch fought to prevent the Negroes' extradition to Arkansas and requested a hearing before Governor Allen. Their Attorney L. A. Knox, of the Branch, associated with Attorneys Calloway and Bruce, submitted evidence that was instrumental in causing the Governor to refuse extradition. The Styles boys were thereupon freed.

Charles T. Smithie, of Tulsa, Okla., charged with being one of the leaders in the Tulsa "riots" was arrested the same year in Minneapolis, Minn., and his extradition to Oklahoma requested. The Minneapolis Branch wired the National Office which in turn urged Governor Preus to refuse extradition, pointing to the danger of Smithie being lynched if returned to the South. Instructions were sent to the Minneapolis Branch.

A writ of habeas corpus was secured and a trial set for October 29 before the Governor. The deputy sheriff had been so sure of returning Smithie to Oklahoma that he had already purchased two railroad tickets but the quick work of the N. A. A. C. P. halted the move. Extradition was subsequently denied and Smithie went free.

International Extradition Balked

In 1922, quick action on the part of the N. A. A. C. P., the National Race Congress and the Buffalo Branch moved the Dominion of Canada to decline to extradite Matthew Bullock to Norlina, North Carolina, where his brother had been lynched in 1921 for refusing to accept rotten apples when he had paid for good ones and for "talking back." Following disorders in which several blacks and whites were injured Bullock escaped to Canada where he was arrested ten months later on charge of "inciting to riot and shooting a white man." After several months of litigation, much publicity and the raising of a large defense fund, Matthew Bullock was released.

Other noted extradition cases fought by the Association were the Will Whitfield (1921) case where North Carolina was prevented from extraditing the Negro, accused of assaulting a white man, from New York; the H. F. Smiddy case (1921) where a white man, who had given favorable testimony in the Elaine "rioters" case, was saved from being returned to Arkansas from Topeka, Kan., on a trumped up charge; the long fought case of Samuel Kennedy (1927), arrested in Chicago for escaping from a Georgia chain-gang where he had been serving sentence for slapping a white man; the case of Edward Glass (1927), a Negro businessman, who fled to California from Sapulpa, Okla., after killing a white man, a member of a group breaking into his store and for whom California and Oklahoma branches spent $1,105.50 to prevent his extradition, but failed; the successful efforts to prevent the extradition in 1928 of Will Brown from Columbus, O., to Mississippi; J. T. Allen from Great Falls, Mont., to Alabama, and Viola Edwards from Detroit, Mich., to Pensacola, Fla While the Association failed to prevent the extradition of Silas Paramore from New Jersey to Georgia for the killing of a police chief, the New Brunswick Branch expended $727.31 and received personal assurance from the Governor of Georgia for the safety of the prisoner and a fair trial. The fight of the Association in 1933 to prevent the extradition of George Crawford from Massachusetts to Virginai, which along with the subsequent trial at Leesburg, Va., cost $3,636.82, was instrumental in getting Negroes placed on Virginia juries for the first time since 1902.

Extradition cases are extremely difficult, since they challenge not only the police powers of the Southern States but also the methcds of selecting juries. It is a tribute to the legal staff of the N. A. A. C. P. that it has been successful in many outstanding instances.

Pickens Enrolls White Southerners In N.A.A.C.P.

DARLINGTON, S. C., Nov. 15—Material for Ripley's "Believe It or Not" column was gained here two days after the Marianna, Fla., kidnap-lynching when six prominent local white men joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People following the address of William Pickens, field secretary of the association at the local Negro public school. Thirty-odd Negroes also joined the Association. The great success of the membership drive in this city is attributed to the work of Dr. Jos. A. Robinson, the prominent physician, and Bishop Noah Williams of the A. M. E. Church, the annual conference of which was in session here at the time of the mass meeting. Bishop Williams cancelled the A. M. E. Conference at Clinton, S. C., last year because of the lynching there of Norris Dendy.

The whites who joined the N. A. A. C. P. were Mayor O. A. Alexander; City clerk, Ed Fountain; Dr. C. C. Hill, prominent physician; J. A. McCleod, clerk of the court; Dr. J. W. Wilcox, druggist, and A. S. Dorgan, insurance underwriter.

N.A.A.C.P. - 1934

EDUCATE WHITES FROM IGNORANCE OF NEGRO PROBLEMS, SAYS MISS MARY WHITE OVINGTON

CITY GAILY DECORATED IN WELCOMING MILITANT ASSOCIATION

Founder Cites Help Whites Are Giving To Jews In German Struggle

With flags waving and the city in gala attire, the 25th annual session of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People went into its opening session Wednesday evening at Calvary Baptist church. Delegates poured in from all sections of Oklahoma Wednesday morning, and the registration headquarters in the Aldridge Theatre were swamped with activity. Miss Luella Lawson, chairman of the Homes Committee, was in charge, with Mrs. R. F. North and Mrs. A. L. McKay as registration clerks. Mrs. Cora Stewart, convention secretary, is also transferring her activities to the registration headquarters.

Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the Association, arrived Monday from New York, and William Pickens, field secretary, came in from the south, having just completed a visit to Arkansas and Louisiana. Dean Pickens is stopping with Mrs. Mary Christburgh, 937 East Seventh street, and Mr. Wilkins is stopping in the S. D. Lyons home.

Dean Charles Houston of Howard university, and John P. Davis of Washington, D. C., arrived in the city Tuesday afternoon and are domiciled with Dr. and Mrs. A. I. Davis.

At the opening sessions Wednesday night City Manager Mosier, who has been unable to walk since a serious operation, sent his regrets by Hon. Eugene Maple of the city administrative departments. Mr. Maple made a rousing address of welcome to the assembled delegates. W. E. McMurray, president of the local branch, presided. (The entire program of the Association will be found on another page).

In her address to the convention, Mrs. Mary White Ovington, one of the founders of the Association, and treasurer, said:

"Thousands of white people all over America gladly would join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and support its program if they were properly educated and recruited by colored people."

Miss Ovington declared most white people were "abysmally ignorant" of the problems of Negroes and urged colored people to drop their own race prejudices and approach whites "man to man" and ask them to join in the work of the association. After telling something of the beginning of the association and its achievements in the past twenty-five years, Miss Ovington appealed for a larger white membership ,saying:

"There is one very noticeable change between the Association of twenty-five years ago and the Association of today, the proportion of Negroes to whites. At our first conference, held in 1909 in New York City, the number of white and colored was about even. Today the whites are not one in a hundred. Only at the meetings of the board, do we have decisions that represent interracial discussion.

"I shall not attempt to analyze why this is, but I believe it to have been a policy, unconsciously perhaps, but nevertheless a policy, of the Negro members. It is they who have formed branches throughout the country, they who have sent in their fifty names necessary to secure a charter. Rarely is a white man's name among the number. And this not only in sections where the whites might not be in sympathy with so radical a Negro program as ours but also in cities where there would be no difficulty in securing white membership. Branch organizations are colored and the white man who might be interested knows nothing about them.

"This is not true of a few of our large cities. Judge Jayne of Detroit, David Pierce of Cleveland, Miss McDowell of Chicago, the late Moorfield Storey of Boston; these have been and some still are loyal and important supporters to the cause. At one time Harold L. Ickes, secretary of the interior, was president of our Chicago branch. Senator Capper was long active in the Topeka, Kans. branch. In New York Governor Lehman is one of our most loyal supporters. I could name others, important people who have been interested in our movement. But they are exceptions. The fact remains that the Negro has segregated himself in the N. A. A. C. P.

Must Educate Whites

"Segregation. That is a word that brings instant attention in a colored audience today. Dr. DuBois' editorial, that pointed out a value in segregation, was repudiated by the bulk of his readers. But what I want to point out is that it is not the white man who does all of the segregating. For twenty-five years I have watched the N. A. A. C. P. become more and more an organization manned by one race only.

"For myself I can see no advantage in these tactics. This is a movement for larger opportunity for an oppressed minority. But ultimately this opportunity will be given by the majority. Why then, make no effort to enlist such whites as are in sympathy with the minority's aspirations? Naturally, the Negro wants to lead his organization, but when he gets to work he finds that he needs white friends—on the bench, in the jury box. Why not educate people in his ideas? I often wonder if Negroes have any realization of the abysmal ignorance of white Americans regarding their conditions. Many splendid white people in the United States are battling for the Jews in Germany but are quite indifferent, because they know nothing about it, to Negro-baiting in their home state.

"Perhaps you think the white people are not interested. I wish you could have seen the way in which the authors of America, at Mr. White's call, poured in their acceptances to the Writers' League against Lynching. It seemed as though every writer of account in the country, northerner and southerner, easterner and westerner, wanted to be enrolled in it. But the authors would never have thought to come together. It took the secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. to get this. And there are other issues almost as dramatic as lynching. Get them then before white people. Get the colored newspapers into their homes. I wish that every colored paper would have one issue of the year especially for whites and that every colored subscriber would circulate it. Don't blame people too much for being indifferent to your ills when you don't ask them to drop their indifference and join with you.

Whites Must Be Won

"Segregation. You don't want to be segregated. You want to be Americans. You are Americans. You have worked for America and fought for America, and died for America. But you want to live in this country with dignity, as George Arliss says in that marvelous film, 'The House of Rothschild.' How is it possible to get this except you win the whites to your cause? And there are white people ready to join your cause if you only invite them, man to man, to join it. I know there are, and they would come at your invitation twice as quickly as they would at mine. Ours is a battle for justice. It is the demand that color shall not bar men from the opportunity offered by this republic. And there are courageous white people all over this land who would like to help if you would drop your color prejudice and go out and bring them in."

MISS MARY WRITE OVINGTON

English NAACP Has Three Day London Meet

Radicals Find Little Joy, However, in Conservative Talk of Co-operation

CONFERENCE LEADER THOUGHT UNCLE TOM

Students Snub Meeting after the First Session.

(Special to the AFRO)

LONDON—Considering the attitude of Dr. Harold A. Moody, president of the League of Colored Peoples as a manifestation of Uncle Tomism and a surrender to those who dominate the British colonies, many students boycotted the three-day conference of the organization July 13-15, after the opening session.

The conference, the first of its kind held in England, opened at Memorial Hall before a representative audience of African and West Indian students, and a few white liberals.

In his address, Dr. Moody declared his creed to be one of racial co-operation and good will. After declaring that the nature of the program makes it necessary for the group to have a strong religious content, the speaker outlined the platforms of other leaders.

Criticises Leaders

"Booker Washington did valiantly, and his work was most opportune," he declared, "but he accepted too readily the position of servility. Dr. DuBois, a brilliant writer, was too bitter. Marcus Garvey, an able and understanding personality who might

Prince Afori Atta, of the Gold Coast, addressed the conference before the resolutions were adopted and the assembly closed.

A. Mayania, of M. Woodson, and Dr. Maule, Miss Ladipo Odunsi and Una Marson, secretary of the mas, of West Africa league, and the Rev. A. Belboda **Called Lackey** spoke on conditions in the West n of the colored stu- Indies. The latter's land was explained aroused much indignation among sh people, Mrs. Freda the younger West Indians, who Mr. Fletcher. "The publicly denounced the minister e the United States" as being a lackey of the British d by David Tucker, imperialists.

N.A.A.C.P. - 1934

EDUCATE WHITES FROM IGNORANCE OF NEGRO PROBLEMS, SAYS MISS MARY WHITE OVINGTON

CITY GAILY DECORATED IN WELCOMING MILITANT ASSOCIATION

Founder Cites Help Whites Are Giving To Jews In German Struggle

With flags waving and the city in gala attire, the 25th annual session of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People went into its opening session Wednesday evening at Calvary Baptist church. Delegates poured in from all sections of Oklahoma Wednesday morning, and the registration headquarters in the Aldridge Theatre were swamped with activity. Miss Luella Lawson, chairman of the Homes Committee, was in charge, with Mrs. R. F. North and Mrs. A. L. McKay as registration clerks. Mrs. Cora Stewart, convention secretary, is also transferring her activities to the registration headquarters.

Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the Association, arrived Monday from New York, and William Pickens, field secretary, came in from the south, having just completed a visit to Arkansas and Louisiana. Dean Pickens is stopping with Mrs. Mary Christburgh, 937 East Seventh street, and Mr. Wilkins is stopping in the S. D. Lyons home.

Dean Charles Houston of Howard university, and John P. Davis of Washington, D. C., arrived in the city Tuesday afternoon and are domiciled with Dr. and Mrs. A. I. Davis.

At the opening sessions Wednesday night City Manager Mosier, who has been unable to walk since a serious operation, sent his regrets by Hon. Eugene Maple of the city administrative departments. Mr. Maple made a rousing address of welcome to the assembled delegates. W. E. McMurray, president of the local branch, presided. (The entire program of the Association will be found on another page).

In her address to the convention, Mrs. Mary White Ovington, one of the founders of the Association, and treasurer, said:

"Thousands of white people all over America gladly would join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and support its program if they were properly educated and recruited by colored people."

Miss Ovington declared most white people were "abysmally ignorant" of the problems of Negroes and urged colored people to drop their own race prejudices and approach whites "man to man" and ask them to join in the work of the association. After telling something of the beginning of the association and its achievements in the past twenty-five years, Miss Ovington appealed for a larger white membership, saying:

"There is one very noticeable change between the Association of twenty-five years ago and the Association of today, the proportion of Negroes to whites. At our first conference, held in 1909 in New York City, the number of white and colored was about even. Today the whites are not one in a hundred. Only at the meetings of the board, do we have decisions that represent interracial discussion.

"I shall not attempt to analyze why this is, but I believe it to have been a policy, unconsciously perhaps, but nevertheless a policy, of the Negro members. It is they who have formed branches throughout the country, they who have sent in their fifty names necessary to secure a charter. Rarely is a white man's name among the number. And this not only in sections where the whites might not be in sympathy with so radical a Negro program as ours but also in cities where there would be no difficulty in securing white membership. Branch organizations are colored and the white man who might be interested knows nothing about them.

"This is not true of a few of our large cities. Judge Jayne of Detroit, David Pierce of Cleveland, Miss McDowell of Chicago, the late Moorfield Storey of Boston; these have been and some still are loyal and important supporters to the cause. At one time Harold L. Ickes, secretary of the interior, was president of our Chicago branch. Senator Capper was long active in the Topeka, Kans. branch. In New York Governor Lehman is one of our most loyal supporters. I could name others, important people who have been interested in our movement. But they are exceptions. The fact remains that the Negro has segregated himself in the N. A. A. C. P.

Must Educate Whites

"Segregation. That is a word that brings instant attention in a colored audience today. Dr. DuBois' editorial, that pointed out a value in segregation, was repudiated by the bulk of his readers. But what I want to point out is that it is not the white man who does all of the segregating. For twenty-five years I have watched the N. A. A. C. P. become more and more an organization manned by one race only.

"For myself I can see no advantage in these tactics. This is a movement for larger opportunity for an oppressed minority. But ultimately this opportunity will be given by the majority. Why then, make no effort to enlist such whites as are in sympathy with the minority's aspirations? Naturally, the Negro wants to lead his organization, but when he gets to work he finds that he needs white friends—on the bench, in the jury box. Why not educate people in his ideas? I often wonder if Negroes have any realization of the abysmal ignorance of white Americans regarding their conditions. Many splendid white people in the United States are battling for the Jews in Germany but are quite indifferent, because they know nothing about it, to Negro-baiting in their home state.

"Perhaps you think the white people are not interested. I wish you could have seen the way in which the authors of America, at Mr. White's call, poured in their acceptances to the Writers' League against Lynching. It seemed as though every writer of account in the country, northerner and southerner, easterner and westerner, wanted to be enrolled in it. But the authors would never have thought to come together. It took the secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. to get this. And there are other issues almost as dramatic as lynching. Get them then before white people. Get the colored newspapers into their homes. I wish that every colored paper would have one issue of the year especially for whites and that every colored subscriber would circulate it. Don't blame people too much for being indifferent to your ills when you don't ask them to drop their indifference and join with you.

Whites Must Be Won

"Segregation. You don't want to be segregated. You want to be Americans. You are Americans. You have worked for America and fought for America, and died for America. But you want to live in this country with dignity, as George Arliss says in that marvelous film, 'The House of Rothschild.' How is it possible to get this except you win the whites to your cause? And there are white people ready to join your cause if you only invite them, man to man, to join it. I know there are, and they would come at your invitation twice as quickly as they would at mine. Ours is a battle for justice. It is the demand that color shall not bar men from the opportunity offered by this republic. And there are courageous white people all over this land who would like to help if you would drop your color prejudice and go out and bring them in."

MISS MARY WRITE OVINGTON

English NAACP Has Three Day London Meet

Radicals Find Little Joy, However, in Conservative Talk of Co-operation

CONFERENCE LEADER THOUGHT UNCLE TOM

Students Snub Meeting after the First Session.

(Special to the AFRO)

LONDON—Considering the attitude of Dr. Harold A. Moody, president of the League of Colored Peoples as a manifestation of Uncle Tomism and a surrender to those who dominate the British colonies, many students boycotted the three-day conference of the organization July 13-15, after the opening session.

The conference, the first of its kind held in England, opened at Memorial Hall before a representative audience of African and West Indian students, and a few white liberals.

In his address, Dr. Moody declared his creed to be one of racial co-operation and good will. After declaring that the nature of the program makes it necessary for the group to have a strong religious content, the speaker outlined the platforms of other leaders.

Criticizes Leaders

"Booker Washington did valiantly, and his work was most opportune," he declared, "but he accepted too readily the position of servility. Dr. DuBois, a brilliant writer, was too bitter. Marcus Garvey, an able and understanding personality who might

Prince Alori Atta, of the Gold Coast, addressed the conference before the resolutions were adopted and the assembly closed.

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NEGRO SPEAKER ENDS SERIES HERE TONIGHT

People Warned Against 'Fly-By-Night' Organizations

William Pickens, Negro field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will address a mass meeting at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, at 8 o'clock tonight.

The address is a continuation of a series being delivered in Birmingham by the field secretary. Last night he spoke in Bessemer and Sunday afternoon in Woodlawn. He is warning his hearers of the dangers of dealing with "fly-by-night organizations which use the Negro as a cat's paw."

N.A.A.C.P. -1934

Oklahoma City, Okla.
OKLAHOMAN
JUN 28 1934

Woman Urges Whites to Aid In Advancement of Negroes

Extension Program of Negroes Outlined; Award Spingarn Medal

If the Negro race is to advance its people must enlist the aid of the white people, Miss Mary White Ovington, white champion of the Negro cause, declared in an interview on her arrival here Wednesday afternoon.

Miss Ovington is low and stout and white-haired. No one of her race met her, but a welcoming committee of Negroes wearing N. A. A. C. P. badges rushed to her side as she descended from the train. She had come from New York to talk to them.

As one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, Miss Ovington has worked as a volunteer since 1909, and has visited every state except South Dakota in interest of her work. The association now has 300 branches with a membership of 50,000.

"I believe that the Negro is more or less shut off, but he doesn't realize his isolation," Miss Ovington said. "It is up to him to interest the white people in improving his conditions socially and educationally.

"When the organization first was started, the membership was about half Negro and half white," Miss Ovington said, "while now the ratio is approximately 100 Negroes to one white member. The Negroes need white friends, on the bench and in the jury box. Why not educate people in their ideas?

"One of the aims of the association is to help the race obtain justice," she pointed out, "and recently our work has been in anti-lynching activities."

No definite program for education, however, is carried on by the association, she said.

Miss Ovington is a graduate of Radcliffe college and previous to her activities in the N. A. A. C. P., she was a settlement worker in Brooklyn.

Oklahoma City, Okla.
NEWS
JUN 29 1934

EXPAND RACIAL WORK IN SOUTH

Plans for extending the work of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People into the south were outlined at the organization's sessions here this morning.

Under the general subject of "The Changing Front," Mary White Ovington, New York City, and B. J. Stanley, Baton Rouge, La., outlined plans for expanding the work.

Mrs. Ovington, national white treasurer of the organization, reiterated her plea for more whites in the south to take an interest in the work of the organization.

Change Structure

Changes in the structural work of the association and activities in state conferences were discussed by M. S. Stuart, Memphis, Tenn., Homer S. Brown, Pittsburgh, Pa., and William Pickens, New York City.

During the afternoon John P. Davis, Washington, D. C., who last night attacked the NRA (National Recovery Administration) and AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Administration) because the programs failed to aid the Negro, was to conduct an open forum on NRA.

Work on public projects and relief to Negro farmers were to be discussed by A. M. Fuhr, Muskogee, and O. K. Armstrong, Springfield, Mo., white Missouri state legislator, was to speak on "What the States Can Do to Stop Lynching."

Award Medal

One of the highlights of the four-day convention was scheduled tonight when the Spingarn medal, awarded to Negroes for outstanding achievements, will be presented to Dean W. T. B. Williams, head of the Tuskegee Institute College.

The presentation will be made by the Rev. J. Raymond Henderson, Atlanta, Ga. Dean Williams was awarded the medal for outstanding work in the field of education.

Saturday's program includes discussion of organization activities and announcement of winners in the national essay contest at the morning session and a mass meeting at 8 p. m.

DePriest to Speak

In this session principal addresses will be made by Juanita E. Jackson, Baltimore, Md., "Youth's Part in the Fight for Race Rights"; Jess Larson, former Chickasha mayor, "City Government and Its Interracial Problems," and Roscoe Dungee, Oklahoma City, and editor of The Black Dispatch, "Jess Hollins' Case."

The convention sessions will close with the 2:30 p. m. mass meeting in the First Presbyterian Church Sunday when Oscar DePriest, U. S. Negro congressman from Illinois, and Walter White, national association secretary, will speak.

Oklahoma City, Okla.
NEWS
JUL 2 1934

NRA INQUIRY ASKED AT NEGRO MEETING

Discrimination Against Blacks Is Charged

The five-day convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People closed here late yesterday with the adoption of resolutions demanding a congressional investigation into the treatment of Negroes under the NRA (National Recovery Administration).

The resolution asked that there be no discrimination in the employment of skilled and unskilled workers on building construction and other projects financed wholly or in part by federal funds.

Another resolution condemned the administration of "new deal" policies as they affect Negroes, charging officials with indifference to their appeals.

Another resolution urged Negroes to join labor unions but at the same time scored the American Federation of Labor and railroad brotherhoods for "continuing to weaken the labor movement by indifference to the exclusion or segregation of Negro workers from its local and international unions."

Speakers at the closing session included Walter White, associate secretary, and Oscar DePriest, Negro congressman from Illinois.

DePriest urged the Negroes to use their voting power in their battle for equal rights. He scored the inequality in distribution of funds for education.

St. Louis, Mo., was selected as next year's convention city.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION DIRECTORS LAUD DuBOIS' EXECELLENT SERVICE WHILE ACCEPTING HIS RESIGNATION

Defender 7-21-34

NEW YORK CITY.—(Sp.)—The board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at its regular monthly meeting on July 9, accepted "with the deepest regret," the resignation of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as editor of the Crisis, as a member of the board of directors, as director of publications and research, as a member of the board of the Crisis Publishing Company, and as a member of the Spingarn Medal award committee. Its action followed the insistence of Dr. DuBois in a letter dated July 1, that his resignation proferred on June 11 be accepted. At its June meeting the board of directors had voted to withold action.

The resolution voted by the board cites the long record of Dr. DuBois as one of the directors of the association and as a distinguished teacher, scholar and man of letters, and hails his achievement as founder of the Crisis and as creator of a Negro intelligentsia. His fearlessness and independence are lauded and the board tenders him its "sincere thanks for the services he has rendered."

The board's resolution accepting the resignation of Dr. DuBois follows:

"Resolved, that it is with the deepest regret that we hereby accept the resignation of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as editor of the Crisis, as a member of the board of directors, as director of publications and research, as a member of the board of the Crisis Publishing Company, and as a member of the Spingarn Medal award committee; and we desire at the same time to record our sense of the loss which his resignation will bring not only to the members of this board but to every loyal member of the association.

"Dr. DuBois joined the association in 1910 as director of publications [illegible] research. The association was then a few months old. He was already a distinguished teacher, scholar and man of letters, professor of sociology in Atlanta University, and author of "Souls of Black Folk" and other works which had deeply moved the white world as well as the black. The ideas which he had propounded for a decade were the ideas that had brought the association into being; its founders were his intellectual disciples in so far as the Negro problem was concerned; and he was in a real sense of the spiritual founder and father of the association.

"He founded the Crisis without a cent of capital, and for many years made it completely self-supporting, reaching a maximum monthly circulation at the end of the World War of 105,000. This is an unprecedented achievement in American journalism, and in itself worthy of a distinguished tribute. But the ideas which he propounded in it and in his books and essays tranformed the Negro world as well as a large portion of the liberal white world, so that the whole problem of the relation of black and white races has never since had a completely new orientation. He created what never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia, and many who have never read a word of his writings are his spiritual disciples and descendants.

Without him the association could never have been what it was and is.

"The board has not always seen eye to eye with him in regard to various matters, and cannot subscribe to some of his criticism of the association and its officials. But such differences in the past have in no way interferred with his usefulness, but rather the contrary. For he had been selected because of his independence of judgment, his fearlessness in expressing his convictions, and his acute and wide-reaching intelligence. A more yes-man could not have attracted the attention of the world, could not even have stimulated the board itself to further study of various important problems. We shall be the poorer for his loss, in intellectual stimulus, and in searching analysis of the vital problems of the American Negro; no one in the association can fill his place with the same intellectual grasp. We therefore offer him our sincere thanks for the services he has rendered, and we wish him all happiness in all that he may now undertake."

N. A. A. C. P. Directors Do Not Uphold DuBois' Views on Segregation

NEW YORK.—At its regular monthly meeting here on April 9 the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adopted the following resolution on segregation:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is opposed both to the principle and the practice of enforced segregation of human beings on the basis of race and color.

"Enforced segregation by its very existence carries with it the implication of a superior and inferior group and invariably results in the imposition of a lower status on the group deemed inferior. Thus both principle and practice necessitate unyielding opposition to any and every form of enforced segregation."

"Has the N. A. A. C. P. Segregated Itself?" asks Dungee Houston

By Drusilla Dunjee Houston

(For A.N.P.)

Absent from the National Association are the faces of the white friends who hand in hand with DuBois and Moorefield Storey founded the N.A.A.C.P. Only Mary White Ovington remains. It is an undoubted fact that the Association is segregating itself. One of the first intentions of the founders was that liberal hand, white and colored lovers of justice should work out the problems of securing for the Negro his rights.

Just why has it come about that whites now absent themselves from the national meetings? Is it as Jerome Dowd says, that we have not the friends that we had in the past. Jane Addams, Colonel Spingarn Oswald Garrison Villard are still at heart for the ultimate goal, some of them are aging; some may think that the growing strong intellectually does not need them or did we lack in cordiality and appreciation as a race? Did race apathy discourage them?

We Should Get Busy

We ought to be somewhat busy answering these questions and awakening our race to a better understanding of the great work that the N.A.A.C.P. has done and can do for a united people. We must not depart from the great program first laid down, the working side by side of patriotic white and black Americans for a better America. Segregation is wrong. It is un-American and violates the principles of our Constitution. It is an admission of inferiority.

I believe that we have been misunderstood in our stand against segregation. We have not made the white man see the suffering and hardship that comes out of it for the race. We have rather impressed eagerness for association.

Personally the genuine Negro prefers the building up of a self-sustained culture of our own that the better white man will seek and which will never open for the former race hater who pretended to fear it.

It Seems to be Our Fault

I feel that in some way it is our fault the N.A.A.C.P. has segregated itself. There are few white attendants at the National meetings. Some come, of course, but not in sufficient numbers to make any difference in our status as a race.

This happens for various reasons. With the common white man we are emphasizing too much programs. Our over-dressing and fine cars have aroused envy. They leave us to the carrying out of our own endeavors.

Let me illustrate. In Oklahoma City we have a colored band belonging to Douglass High School. It has been trained by a wonderfully gifted woman—Mrs. Zelia Breaux. They play the marches of Sousa and other great composers brilliantly.

I have seen nothing to exceed the appearance and skill of her drum majors. In a late parade this band came at the end of a parade. I noticed as the colored boys appeared on Main Street the whites scattered almost by magic. There was nothing to account for it but envy, that refuses to see.

DES MOINES, IA.
REGISTER

AUG 14 1934

SEGREGATION PROBLEM FAR FROM DEAD.

W. E. B. DuBois, probably the best known living Negro educator editor, and novelist, has finally succeeded in resigning from the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and from the editorship of its magazine, The Crisis.

Dr. DuBois, who spoke in Des Moines last winter, sought to resign in June but action was delayed by the board and he left his official posts unequivocally in July.

For many years two philosophies of action have existed among the leading Negro groups of the country. The principle at issue is segregation of Negroes—in its broadest aspects. One faction, at present controlling the N. A. A. C. P. board, endorses what Dr. DuBois calls a "negative program of protest," while he himself has been the chief standard bearer for a militant struggle against segregation.

In his letter of resignation, Dr. DuBois mentions specifically the fight against segregating Negroes in the army camps during the war, and says that when the campaign failed "we bent every effort toward making the colored camp at Des Moines the best officers camp possible . . ." But he has never been converted to that policy, and he now contends that so many personal animosities have arisen within the organization that he feels the association's goals will stand out more clearly if he withdraws.

While everyone who pays any attention to inter-racial activities will lament the withdrawal of Dr. DuBois' forceful influence, the more important thing to note is that the controversy as to segregation exists among intelligent Negroes as a very vivid problem. The believers in a passive program see only the exciting of antagonism among white people if Dr. DuBois' philosophy of militancy were permitted to prevail. There is warrant for that view, certainly, especially in the southern states. Yet Dr. DuBois contends that by passivity the Negroes are getting nowhere at all, and that the intolerances and injustices continue to exist even in the north because of lethargic remonstrance on the part of the colored race itself.

It is a difficult problem, and no one can pretend to settle it categorically at the moment. But it is a problem for the white race just as much as for the Negro race—whether the white race fully realizes it or not—and it will be mighty worthwhile for us to understand that the leaders of 12 million Negroes in the nation are thinking about it constantly and with very much concern.